1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

high prices, is regarded as the most important fur to trap. The beaver season, therefore is eagerly awaited and an individual whose territory contains a well stocked beaver creek is regarded as being a favorable position. Returnees in beaver are often referred to as the "lucky luck" and an average trapper can expect to almost double his winter earnings during this season. Beaver trapping differs from winter trapping in that it requires considerable immersion in water, so that it is often accompanied or followed by colds and other illness.

Gardening. In the spring the men in most families plant a small garden in the winter settlement. The standard crops are potatoes, turnips, carrots, and radishes. The gardens remain unwounded while the people spend the summer in Lower Post and usually, being unfenced, are constantly raided by rabbits. Gardens are not of great economic importance. Their yield is generally small and never included when a man estimates the amount of food which his family will require for the winter.

Foresight. There is little manifestation of any realistic attitudes of conservation among the Indians, although the need for such a policy is recognized. To illustrate, Old Man complained that low bush cranberries and raspberries had almost disappeared from the neighborhood of his home. He blamed this on the indiscriminate picking. He also alluded to the large scale moose and caribou hunting that had formerly been possible in the Upper Liard River area. In one year the family's hunters brought down eighty-two caribou and moose. In 1939 Old Man's son-in-law, Harry Long, told his father-in-law that if they continued to hunt "every day" they would "clean out" all the game. Old Man didn't believe Harry then. "Game come anyway," he told the young man. In 1945, when moose were scarce, he was more inclined to believe the younger man's advice. Old Man also reported a beaver colony near the winter settlement where the beaver "must be old as me." They are never trapped, he reported, being left for "seed." Old Knee, another Upper Liard Indian, was reported to leave martin areas alone for two or three years in order to give the animals a chance to breed.

The Indian's appreciation of the necessity for conservation is well illustrated by his attitudes toward the ruling of the Yukon Government in 1945 declaring beaver trapping to be closed for three years. Hans Donnelly was aware of the fact that the supply of Yukon beaver had become seriously depleted, especially as a result of the indiscriminate killing of these animals prior to 1938, when a law went into effect prohibiting their shooting. Despite his understanding that policy of conservation aimed at rebuilding these depleted resources, he resented the closure and agreed with the point of view expressed by Nitla who said: "Somebody say beaver closed three years . . . what he gonna live on, the people? Better open that beaver. Government look after his boys. . . . Springtime, just sit down one place, out of money, poor luck, too bad. Oh, beaver open, pretty good, best way. Marten closed, pretty good, best way. Government smart, he do it all right. . . . Soon men starving he gonna eat that beaver meat. No smart; that's why he say that closed. Marten, you eat nothing. Just skin. That meat you throw away. Better marten make him closed."

TECHNOLOGY

The principal techniques followed by the Kaska in processing the raw materials obtained from the environment are: woodworking, the making of cordage, skin working, and fire-making.

1: Honigmann, E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

stopping in Lower Post following employment with a government survey party. While the legally worded charge was being read the accused unthinkingly turned his back on the magistrate. For this he was sharply rebuked. Pleading guilty, the youth was questioned concerning the source of the liquor. He affirmed that soldiers had given him a bottle of rum. The magistrate sarcastically remarked that such generosity to Indians was difficult to understand, since most soldiers were themselves short of liquor. He then imposed a fine of fifteen dollars and costs, and adjourned court while the defendant, in company with the provincial policeman, went to friends trying to borrow the money. The boy came to the ethnographer's cabin and there found Daisy Joe, an Indian woman, whose common law husband was a white man. The policeman had recently caught this woman in the company of her husband carrying a gunny sack of beer. Now, suffering from severe toothache, she was uneasily waiting to see if her offense would also come to trial. When the boy asked Daisy (a nonentity) for money, the policeman became suspicious and remarked: "Maybe that's where you bought the liquor?" This accusation was firmly denied by both parties as well as by Daisy's white husband.

Trials are conducted so as to be punitive as well as judicial. Several times we heard the magistrate making an attempt to frighten the Indians from drinking. There is no question but that the people are afraid of court proceedings, although they are never sufficiently intimidated to reveal the true sources from which liquor is secured. Thereby they protect their access to these sources. Most of the time court proceedings are conducted on a level of formality and a plain of experience quite foreign to the Indians. The efforts of the magistrate to command respect and proper courtroom demeanor are both pitiful and amusing.

Intergroup Relations

In this section, cooperative action and conflict within the Kaska nation as a whole is considered. In the section immediately following discussion will take up relations between Kaska and non-Kaska individuals.

It is in keeping with the atomistic character of Kaska society that cooperation within a tribe or within the nation as a whole should be unknown. No mechanisms for bringing about the unified functioning of these groups are available and group sentiment is transient and ephemeral. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the development of social policies has scarcely gained even a foothold in the group. About thirty-five years ago, under the direction of a white man, James Teit, the Kaska were involved in an attempt to further group interests by supporting a social ideology.[8] The movement was directed toward the preservation of the Indians' right to trap anywhere in the country without being confined to registered trap lines, which were at that time being introduced in British Columbia. As the first task of implementing this social policy, the Indians contributed money which was to be used to institute legal proceedings. Teit, however, is alleged to have absconded with the funds collected. At any rate, the policy met with no success. Even in this group movement, as reported by Old Man, we can detect the spirit of individualistic opportunism at work. "We're trapping Yukon side. White man tell us, 'Yukon trappers put up five dollars. B. C. trappers put up one hundred dollars.' They do that. Old Chief put up five hundred

[8] We have adopted this term from Kardiner who uses it to refer to "a system of ideas which seeks implementation by action to gain or preserve certain interests," Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), xiv.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

182 dollars. That's his kids. He's got maybe five kid. Each put up one hundred dollars. *He figger*
185 *he gonna take whole Hyland River.* Old Kean put up one hundred fifty dollars. My brother
224 put up ten dollars. They say from Lower Post three thousand dollars going." The imputed
156 motive of Old Chief (which we have italicized) is significant, since it points out the lack of ingroup solidarity and the self-centeredness of the individual. Old Chief received his designation from white men and should not be regarded as an executive whose legitimacy was derived from the native society.

185 Today only unorganized and diffused traces of social ideologies are encountered. All of
182 these emphasize better governmental care of the Indian and consist mainly of pleas and complaints which never achieve a stage where they are implemented by action. Interest was shown toward a Canadian Commonwealth Federation (C. C. F.) organizer who came to Lower Post in 1945. Old Man, who heard of the man indirectly from John Kean, spoke approvingly of the "new government" and thought it would "do something" for the Indian.

571 Interpersonal antagonism characterizes most of the relations of men in the area and is
521 even the most prominent feature of interpersonal relations within a tribal district. Despite
157 the ideal attitude commanding a person to mind his own business, the common expression of this latent hostility is through malicious gossip and backbiting. Such expression, however, is confined to good friends and older men who are not apt to carry the calumnies back to the subjects. Young men and most women show a strong and consistent reluctance to gossip or criticize, and it is only in an unguarded moment or during intoxication that their feelings are permitted escape. The careful control on the expression of hostility is related to the Kaska Indian's great fear of giving offense to people and thereby damaging his own reputation. Old Man illustrated this tactfulness abundantly. He felt that Old Lady Metla had to be given a good funeral for fear of otherwise offending her daughter, Lady Suza. Following the death of her mother the latter was received in Old Man's house as a temporary accommodation, but the old man soon regretted his action as he began to perceive that Lady Suza and her youngest son, Donald, were depleting his stock of grub. He was extremely reluctant however, to take any action that would give offense. Instead he complained to the ethnographer of his guests' eating habits and criticized young Donald's laziness. A large part of his resentment was expressed in the socially permitted form of tormenting the latter youth for his indifferent work habits.

578 The hypocrisy between even good friends is striking. Old Kean and Old Man had spent
571 a sociable evening drinking brew together and complimenting each other. Two days later
572 Old Kean criticized Old Man bitterly. He accused the latter of illegally trapping on both
157 sides of the Liard River, affirming that the other man had no right to cross the stream. Then he alluded to Old Man's long association with white men and implied that Old Man was beginning to think of himself as a white man. He ended up by branding his friend as "full of bullshit," that is, a liar. A few days later Old Kean aired his resentment of River Joe, whom he accused of trying to be the boss of the whole country. He fancifully threatened to put River Joe in jail.

Similar attitudes prevailed in the relationship of Old Man and River Joe. Together the two always appeared to be good friends, but behind the other's back Old Man was tirelessly

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freedom of movement than girls, have a wider range of friendships. Girls, particularly around the time of puberty, have their friendships restricted to female siblings and girls living in an immediately adjacent camp.

Fluidity tends to be a feature of such friendships, but during the period when a particular relationship exists it is often marked by close affection and exchange of confidence. The emotions of friendship are rarely expressed verbally, but are abundantly demonstrated tactually. Such expression is most strongly developed in girls, who are often seen holding hands, sitting close together, hugging, and wrestling. Boys, too, often sit resting against each others' bodies. Sometimes a boy creeps up behind a friend and embraces him tightly from behind, whereupon the other tries to lift him up or shake him loose. Such horsing around often leads to wrestling for sport.

Although adolescence may be thought to offer advantages in the way of less direct supervision, greater independence, and more opportunities for achieving prestige, there seems to be no haste in either boys or girls to grow up. Although two sisters may be only two years apart, and one may use lipstick or begin to tease and be teased by boys, the other does not presume above her age, and shows no haste to emulate her sister. She seems content to wait for the physiological signal that will denote her maturity. Meanwhile boys do not bother her. Such younger girls often act as companions to older friends, when the latter attend dances or walk around in the summer night. In this role they are often able to increase their sexual knowledge.

The boy's freedom during adolescence is greater than the girl's, just as his whole childhood has been marked by fewer obligations and duties. Girls of fourteen and fifteen continue to be scolded and forced to assist in household tasks, but there is evidence for believing that now this direction begins to be resented, leading to negativistic behavior. At this age girls, following a family quarrel, often leave their families to live with married sisters or maternal aunts. In late adolescence boys may also leave home and live in another settlement, but this step is generally a preparation for marriage.

What is the adolescent's orientation in life? What are his ambitions and aspirations? We sought to ask such questions but rarely received clear or decisive answers. Irene Wiley refused to try to think of her future and shook off all such inquiries. A typical expression of personal orientation comes from Carl Leonard, a literate fourteen year old boy of mixed Tahltan and Kaska parentage. Asked what he wanted to do when he grew up, Carl replied: "Work at something; little work. Build house. I want to trap most." Did he want to go outside of the Kaska area? "Sometimes I go out, just for trip." Why did he want to build a house? "Live inside." What was the goal in trapping? "Catch something on trap." What about money? "Yeah, make a little money." What is money good for? "Buy some things." If he had a great deal of money what would he buy? "Buy some grub, clothes for myself, buy good blankets. That's all."

From this not unrepresentative instance we may conclude that the Kaska adolescent's aspirations do not significantly outrank the generally low level of aspiration patterned by the society. The adolescent's goals are formulated within the conventional realm of experience; his personal ambition is limited. In later life the adult will retain these qualities as distinctive features of his personality.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

by her daughter, Lady Sum, and a foster son, Nitla. With Lady Sum most of the time was her youngest son, Donald. From these relatives Mettla received a minimum of care and little companion. Frequently her fire was permitted to go out and rekindled only after her prolonged moaning and shrieking brought attention. Nitla complained several times of being unable to sleep at night or of being awakened by Old Mettla's demands for fire. Old Man too complained of being kept awake by the sick woman's moaning. Because of her lice and uncleanliness, all except Mettla's daughter were reluctant to come into contact with the old woman, although on the boat journey to Old Man's place illness and debility made it practically impossible for her to climb into the vessel unassisted. On the boat she sat isolated from the other travelers and most of the time crouched in the prow near the dogs. Early in October everyone in camp left on a hunting trip and abandoned the old woman in camp with only the ethnographer's family. According to Nitla, they went on the hunt only after feeling sure that Old Mettla's health was improved, and that she was able to do small things for herself. Four or five days' supply of wood was left, but little food other than sugar, oatmeal, and flour. During this period the old woman once more relapsed into serious illness (perhaps because of too liberally helping herself to sugar, for which she had an inordinate fondness) and was unable to keep her fire going. The wood also became exhausted. Among the last people to return from the hunt was Mettla's daughter.

Youth shows little sympathy with the debilities and weaknesses of old age. No courtesies are developed toward the old. So long as a camp contains food, however, a helpless old person will not be allowed to starve. The aged are also entitled to rations provided by the Indian Affairs Branch. Unless there are particularly devoted children, however, it is likely that the standard of living of the very old must go below that of the average member of the society.

Sickness*

Sickness is apt to strike at any point along the life cycle and no classification following old age is solely a matter of convenience. Here we will deal with those aspects of illness which affect the person's interpersonal relations. The Kaska Indian, with rare reprieves, is forced to live in close association with illness, either his own or that of some member of his family. While all illness is not necessarily serious, concern with symptoms occupies a large portion of the adult's attention. Young people, in contrast, often underestimate the seriousness of sickness.

Little concern with the implications of sickness for the future is manifested, even by those men who are most concerned with their symptoms. Yet exsanguination through illness may have serious economic consequences. Illness in the fall, for example, can prevent hunting and frustrate the accumulation of meat for the winter. If serious ill health occurs in the winter it hinders trapping. The following spring, with insufficient fur, a man can do little more than pay off the credit extended to him the previous year before beginning to run up a new and higher debt. Several men were caught in this vicious circle.

The economic burden resulting from a man's sickness must, in greatest part, be borne

* Field work in connection with sickness was greatly aided by the use of Ashabranner's *On the Collecting of Data Concerning Primitive Medicine* (1946). For other information concerning [illegible] sickness and medicine in Kaska society see below pp. 227-246.